

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:JFTEFFT:MR

APPROVED BY IO:SWLEWIS

AF:WESCHAUFLE

S/S:DLMACK

S:RAHERNE

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 288878 TOSEC 310061

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, SF, WA

SUBJECT:ACTION MEMORANDUM: GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION
OF NAMIBIA (S/S NO. 7624446)

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM IO - LEWIS AND AF - SCHAUFLE

1. PROBLEM:

THE UNGA FOURTH COMMITTEE BEGAN ITS ANNUAL DEBATE ON
NAMIBIA NOVEMBER 22. AS IN PAST YEARS, WE PLAN TO GIVE
A SHORT STATEMENT OUTLINING US POLICY ON THE TERRITORY,
PROBABLY EARLY IN THE WEEK OF NOVEMBER 29. WE HAVE
ATTACHED A DRAFT STATEMENT FOR YOUR APPROVAL.

2. BACKGROUND:

DURING THE NEXT TWO WEEKS THE UNGA WILL DEBATE THE
NAMIBIAN QUESTION AND ADOPT RESOLUTIONS ON THE SITUATION
IN THE TERRITORY. IN COMMITTEE MEETINGS HELD THUS FAR,
THE AFRICANS HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY INTEND TO USE THE
DEBATE THIS YEAR TO FURTHER STRENGTHEN SWAPO AS THE ONLY
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LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE. WE HAVE

ONE REPORT THAT THE AFRICANS MAY SPONSOR A RESOLUTION

GRANTING OBSERVER STATUS TO SWAPO (AS IN THE CASE OF THE PLO). IN A PROCEDURAL DECISION BEFORE THE DEBATE BEGAN, THE COMMITTEE DECIDED NOT TO HEAR THE REPRESENTATIVE OF CHIEF KAPUUNO DURING ITS DEBATE. ALONG WITH THE EC-9, IVORY COAST, AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND, WE OBJECTED TO THIS EXCLUSION AND ARGUED THAT ANYONE WHO HAS KNOWLEDGE OF THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA OUGHT TO BE ABLE TO PRESENT HIS VIEWS TO THE COMMITTEE. WE MADE CLEAR THAT WE WERE NOT BACKING CHIEF KAPUUNO PERSONALLY OR HIS POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN NAMIBIA.

IN STATEMENTS MADE BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON MONDAY:

-- SWAPO WAS SHARPLY CRITICAL OF "IMPERIALIST FORCES" WHICH DESIRED TO ESTABLISH A PUPPET REGIME WHICH WOULD GUARANTEE WESTERN INVESTMENTS IN NAMIBIA. THE SWAPO SPOKESMAN CRITICIZED SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY IN AFRICA BUT DID NOT MENTION THE US BY NAME. MOST IMPORTANTLY, HE CALLED FOR FULL PERMANENT OBSERVER STATUS FOR SWAPO IN ALL UN AGENCIES AND CONFERENCES.

-- THE PRESIDENT OF THE UN COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA AND THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COMMITTEE OF 24 CONDEMNED THE CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS GOING ON IN WINDHOEK AND ANNOUNCED STRENGTHENED COOPERATION WITH SWAPO.

WE EXPECT THE AFRICAN SPEAKERS DURING THE DEBATE TO CONTINUE STRONGLY TO ENDORSE SWAPO'S PREEMINENT POSITION IN NAMIBIA.

THE SPEECH WE HAVE PREPARED IS A GENERAL SUMMING UP OF OUR POSITION ON NAMIBIA. ITS CENTRAL FEATURE IS A REITERATION OF THE US POSITION YOU OUTLINED TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON SEPTEMBER 30.

3. RECOMMENDATION:

THAT YOU APPROVE THE ATTACHED STATEMENT.
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APPROVE: DISAPPROVE:

4. DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:JFTEFFT; APPROVED BY IO:SWLEWIS;
CLEARED BY AF:WESCHAUFLE, S:RAHERNE

FOLLOWING IS DRAFT STATEMENT:

MR. PRESIDENT,

THE PAST YEAR HAS BEEN A CRUCIAL YEAR FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA. IT HAS ALSO BEEN AN IMPORTANT YEAR IN THE RELATIONS OF MY COUNTRY WITH THAT REGION OF THE WORLD. AS MEMBERS OF THIS ASSEMBLY KNOW, SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER LAUNCHED A MAJOR DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVE IN LUSAKA IN APRIL TO ENCOURAGE POSITIVE CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. HE OFFERED TO ASSIST THE NATIONS OF THE REGION TO NEGOTIATE SOLUTIONS TO THE DANGEROUS PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. AS A RESULT OF INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE US, THE UNITED KINGDOM, THE FRONT-LINE STATES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AND SOUTH AFRICA, CONSIDERATION OF THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM HAS NOW SHIFTED TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE IN GENEVA. WHILE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED, AND WE BY NO MEANS WISH TO DIMINISH THE SERIOUSNESS OF THESE PROBLEMS, THE IMPORTANT FACT IS THAT INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA ARE CLOSER TODAY THAN MANY WOULD HAVE EXPECTED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR.

THE PAST YEAR HAS ALSO WITNESSED EXTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS ON MEANS TO BRING THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE. THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE A CONCERTED AND VIGOROUS EFFORT TO PERSUADE THE INTERESTED PARTIES TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM OF NAMIBIA BY NEGOTIATIONS AND NOT BLOODSHED. ALTHOUGH FORMAL TALKS HAVE NOT YET BEGUN, OUR DIPLOMATIC CONSULTATIONS CONTINUE. THE UNITED STATES REMAINS DEDICATED TO BRINGING TO AN END THE ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA BY SOUTH AFRICA AND TO HELPING BRING ABOUT MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA AS A SINGLE UNITARY STATE. SECRETARY KISSINGER OUTLINED THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION TO

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THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM IN HIS SPEECH TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON SEPTEMBER 30. HE STRESSED THAT THE US FAVORED THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

-- INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA WITHIN A FIXED SHORT TIME LIMIT;

-- THE CALLING OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE AT A NEUTRAL LOCATION UNDER THE UN AEGIS; AND

-- THE PARTICIPATION IN THAT CONFERENCE OF ALL AUTHENTIC NATIONAL FORCES INCLUDING SPECIFICALLY SWAPO.

IN A MEETING THE DAY BEFORE THIS SPEECH, THE SECRETARY UNDERLINED TO MR. SAM NUJOMA, THE PRESIDENT OF SWAPO,

THE IMPORTANCE WHICH THE US ATTACHES TO THE PARTICIPATION OF SWAPO.

SWAPO MUST HAVE A CENTRAL ROLE IN ANY CONFERENCE ON NAMIBIA. AT THE SAME TIME WE WISH TO NOTE THAT THERE ARE OTHER GENUINE INTERESTS AND VOICES WHICH MUST BE HEARD ON THE FUTURE OF THE TERRITORY. THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT THE PLACE TO RESOLVE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PARTIES TO THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM IS THE CONFERENCE TABLE. WE WILL EXERT EVERY EFFORT TO BRING THE PARTIES TO UNDERTAKE A PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS.

IN ADDITION TO THE MAJOR DIPLOMATIC EFFORT WHICH THE US HAS MADE DURING THE PAST YEAR, MY GOVERNMENT HAS ALSO BEEN ACTIVE IN PROVIDING EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE TO YOUNG NAMIBIANS. IN THE PAST YEAR THE US HAS PROVIDED \$300,000 FOR THE TRAINING OF NAMIBIAN STUDENTS, TO HELP PREPARE THEM TO ASSUME THE OBLIGATIONS OF BUILDING AND ADMINISTERING AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA. THE US HAS CONTRIBUTED \$250,000 TO THE UN INSTITUTE FOR NAMIBIA IN LUSAKA AND \$50,000 TO THE UN EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAM FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA, SPECIALLY EARMARKED FOR NAMIBIANS. THESE CONTRIBUTIONS ALSO REFLECT THE IMPORTANCE THE US PLACES IN THE UN AS THE LEGITIMATE AUTHORITY FOR NAMIBIA.

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THE US REMAINS SERIOUSLY CONCERNED OVER HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN NAMIBIA AND THE ILLEGAL APPLICATION IN THE TERRITORY OF OPPRESSIVE SOUTH AFRICAN LEGISLATION. WE HAVE PROTESTED TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHORITIES THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE TERRORISM ACT IN NAMIBIA. IN MAY THIS YEAR WE PROTESTED AGAINST THE PARTICULAR APPLICATION OF THAT ACT AGAINST FOUR NAMIBIANS, TWO OF WHOM WERE SENTENCED TO DEATH. SOUTH AFRICA'S APPLICATION OF SUCH LEGISLATION IN NAMIBIA COMPOUNDS THE ILLEGALITY OF ITS PRESENCE THERE BY ENFORCING PROVISIONS THAT ARE IN DIRECT VIOLATION OF THE INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE TERRITORY. IN CONCLUSION, MR. PRESIDENT, I WOULD LIKE TO REAFFIRM THE COMMITMENT OF THE US TO ACHIEVING SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE IN NAMIBIA IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385. OUR SUPPORT FOR THESE PRINCIPLES REMAINS AS STRONG TODAY AS ANY TIME IN THE PAST YEARS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF THE TERRITORY. THE US STRONGLY URGES ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED WITH NAMIBIA TO RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES AND WORK OUT AT THE

CONFERENCE TABLE THE TRANSITION TO A FREE AND INDEPENDENT
NATION. AS SECRETARY KISSINGER SAID ON SEPTEMBER 30,
THE US "PLEDGES OUR CONTINUED SOLICITUDE FOR THE
INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA SO THAT IT MAY, IN THE END,
BE A PROUD ACHIEVEMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND A
SYMBOL OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION."

ROBINSON

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